741 In the Russian dominions of Central Asia the management of the wakf possessions has been taken over by the Russian authorities, but they use the income in the traditional manner for religious purposes. /Figure 72, p. 41a. Caption: Maxim mosque in Tashkent./

771 788 In spite of the willingness which the Central Asian Moslems disclose everywhere to make sacrifices for religious ends, their religiosity really lies only in externals; in the giving of alms, and in the strictest possible observance of all the other external religious practices prescribed by the Koran, exactly as it once was with the Jewish Pharisees. They perform their endless ablutions precisely before each prayer, before each prayer, before and after every meal, after every natural function of the body, if necessary even in the middle of the street, and I have never seen a Moslem omit his morning or evening prayer. Even on a journey in the worst weather and the most terrible mud they kneel in the middle of the road and say their prayer at sunrise /202/ and sunset without taking any notice of anything. Even when they are in the midst of the most heated battle, when the hour of prayer is proclaimed they cease hostilities at once, only to start up again with renewed strength after the prayers are over. But at the same time, this is all there is to it. They consider it completely irrelevant that along with this they allow themselves every kind of betrayal and cheating of their fellowman, especially if he is of another faith or a Kafir, and indulge in secret in the most wicked vices and debauchery as long as the decorum is maintained and nothing is brought out into the open.

796 The Moslems have no regularly recurring holidays like our Sundays. They have only three great festivals a year, each of which is celebrated for several days; otherwise, however, every day is like any other. Only on Fridays the men gather in the morning at the mosque for the group prayer, but afterwards they go about their work and their business as on every other weekday.

368 576 The mosques are not regarded as houses of God, as they are by the Christians, but are no more than places of assembly. Therefore the Moslems do not find it strange to have their mosques visited by non-believers. On my journeys in Bukhara, which is very orthodox, mosques were assigned to me as the preferred place for me to live in during the length of my stay, if no better place were forthcoming. Also the fact that the Moslems remove their shoes before entering a mosque has no religious basis, but is based on the universal custom, conditioned by the regard for cleanliness, of removing the outer foot-

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faithfully observed by the Turkestan natives; those of the steppe region were less strict, prevented as they were by the exigencies of nomadic and seminomadic life. During Ramazan, Muslim communities in Central Asia customarily reversed their routine, resting daytimes, eating and entertaining at night. Shortly after the end of the fast there occurs a major holiday, *kurban bayram* (feast of sacrifice), attended by the slaughter of sheep and by festivities.

The difficulties of observing the Ramazan fast in the Soviet Union are obvious at first sight. To eliminate or even reduce daytime work for a period of a month is possible only for a people economically independent; it is inconceivable in a society in which virtually every breadwinner is an employee of the state, and the state drives relentlessly to increase production. Furthermore, a worker who fasts all day is, even when compelled to do a full day's work, a poor worker. As a result, the Ramazan fast is severely repressed by the authorities and can survive only in a greatly modified form.

Several of the refugees recalled instances of Communist Party officials subjecting Muslims suspected of fasting to "tests." Thus, for example, many Muslim employees of state institutions were called in for conferences with their superiors sometime during the month of Ramazan and there offered a drink or a cigarette; refusal to accept the offer was tantamount to an admission of fasting and could lead to expulsion from work. Similar "tests" were recalled by schoolteachers — during Ramazan teams of officials from neighboring towns often visited schools and checked on both the teachers and the students.

Nevertheless, the observance of the fast, although severely restricted, appears to have partly survived. Some Muslims, unable to fast for 28 consecutive days, compromise by abstaining for three days only: the 1st, 15th, and last days of Ramazan. Others, compelled to eat in order to have strength for work and to avoid the suspicion of authorities, eat and drink as little as possible. It is quite likely — although there is no direct evidence — that the fast may be observed more regularly among those who are not gainfully employed.

The *kurban bayram*, despite its originally religious significance, appears to have suffered the fate of most religious festivities in societies which are secularized or on their way to becoming so: the religious element has largely been forgotten, and the holiday has acquired a predominantly secular, national character. This, in part, may be one of the reasons for its survival. Almost all the informants agreed that the *kurban bayram* was widely observed at least until the outbreak of the war, even by members of the Communist Party. The main difficulty in observing this holiday is the shortage of sheep, which are essential for the ceremony. Not only are almost all the sheep in the hands of the *kolkhozy* (collective farms) and

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782 *sovkhozy* (state farms) — four-fifths, according to the Soviet Encyclo-
796 pedia — which do not release them for religious purposes, but the over-all
177 number of sheep and goats in Turkestan has declined from 3 per native in
233 1913 to approximately 1.5 per native in 1938. Compromises and subter-
fuges are resorted to to overcome this difficulty. In some collective farms the sheep are stolen or slaughtered under one pretext or another, often with the tacit acquiescence of the collective's chairman. In the cities, the well-to-do purchase sheep on the free market, while the less affluent either enter into partnerships with other families to purchase and divide one ram, or else, if they are even too poor for that, sacrifice a chicken instead. The *kurban bayram* seems to be observed less publicly than in pre-Revolutionary years, and usually only in the circle of the immediate family, "with the windows shut and the doors locked," as several refugees put it.

735 The third fundamental Muslim duty is that of regular alms giving,
177 known as *zakat*, traditionally set at 2.5 percent of earnings. In Central Asia the *zakat* had lost even before the Russian conquest in the 19th century the character of a purely philanthropic measure, having been transformed into a *de facto* tax, collected for the benefit of the local secular authorities. The tsarist administration did its best to suppress this practice in territories under its control, replacing it with its own system of taxes. Today, nothing seems to remain of the *zakat* in Soviet Central Asia. The practice had no deep roots to begin with; the population is too impoverished to keep it up; and there is no one to collect it. Almost none of the refugees even knew the meaning of the term *zakat*, and upon being informed, denied ever seeing it practiced.

788 Finally, there is the obligation of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca,
177 the *hajj*. Of all the duties incumbent upon a Muslim this is the one most difficult to fulfill under Soviet conditions, inasmuch as the regime forbids travel of private citizens abroad for any purpose whatsoever. Occasionally, as in 1953, the Soviet government itself dispatches to Mecca official delegations headed by government-appointed muftis and shaykhs, but it is quite obvious that such delegations consist only of carefully screened individuals, liberally interspersed with employees of the security police, and that their primary purpose is not religion but foreign propaganda. For the private individual, the road to Mecca is barred. It appears, however, that pilgrimages to the graves of local saints continue to be popular, and in some sense may serve as a substitute for the forbidden *hajj*.

Thus, of the four practices which constitute the central elements of the Islamic ritual, the five Pillars of the Faith (the fifth being the profession of faith), one (prayer) is almost entirely neglected by the younger and middle-age groups, one (fasting) is observed rarely and even then imperfectly, and two (*zakat* and *hajj*) have completely disappeared. Religious *ritual* thus may be said to have declined considerably and no longer